1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The Sleeping House

342 513 [417] The sleeping house *(fa'e* or *fa'e hiamoe)* stood on the rear half of a stone platform. (For description see House-building.) A ladder consisting of a notched log, or crevices between the stones of the walls, or projecting stones set in the walls of the platform, gave access to the front section of the platform *(paepae)*. On this open section of the platform, in front of the house, was a post *(fata* or *fata'a tu)* with projecting pieces of wood—the stubs of branches probably—on which food and containers were hung. Melville (33, p. 89) describes a small shed, which served as a storehouse, on the platform of the sleeping house in which he stayed. The doors of the houses were built small and low for protection. A man 574 entering another's house must always do so headfirst, so that the inmates 576 could see who he was. He approached the door, placed one foot on the red stone block which formed the sill, stooped, and entered. In leaving, the visitor went to the door, squatted on the sill, raised his hands above his head and placed them against the sides of the door, put his feet down on the platform below the sill, and then rose and went his way. This was the etiquette of entering and leaving the dwelling.

352 513 The front half of the interior of the house was paved with smooth beach boulders, and here the inmates sat about when they were indoors. The bed space *(oki)* occupied the whole width of the rear half of the sleeping house. Coconut logs running the width of the house formed the front and rear boundaries of this sleeping space. Between the logs there was soft earth, on which were laid fern leaves, grass, and rough coconut leaf mats as paddling, fine mats forming the surface of the bed. To quote Linton's (20) description:

> Over the coconut mats were laid woven pandanus mats of two kinds. Those covering the front part of the bed were called *moena*, and were woven of broad strips. . . . The rear part of the bed was covered with a mat of finer weave, called *kahuaa*, which was not *tapu* to men (as were the *moena*). The *kahuaa* were long and narrow, a single one usually running the entire length of the house. It was placed so that it covered the rear half of the *moena* and the back log of the bed, its outer edge being tied up to the rafters. A narrow mat for the head was sometimes placed over the *kahuaa* to prevent its being stained by the oil with which the natives soaked their hair. . . . A pad of tapa was sometimes tied to the rear log of the bed under the *kahuaa*. Portable pillows called *nouni*, which were made from bundles of shredded *fei (huetu)* leaves wrapped and tied with tapa, were also used.

Dordillon (8) gives as terms used for pillow, *pati'eti'e, paepae u'u, paepae upo'o, u'una upo'o.*

352 Partitions *(pahe'e oto)*, separating a section of the interior of the dwelling, were sometimes made with cloth. Dordillon gives the term *ahu tapu*, meaning an elevation of stones at one end of the house on the inside, a

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place set apart for *tapu* individuals. The space behind the bed, between the back log and the rear wall, was, according to Garcia (14, p. 127), sacred, a place for the gods, and the place where inmates spat (spittle being safe from evil doers here). Bundles of clothing and other articles were slung up to the ridgepole with cords (23, p. 89), and valuables were suspended in baskets in the same manner, the cord sustaining them being passed through a coconut shell to prevent rats from climbing it (24, p. 113). The upper surface of the joist supporting the front eaves of the house served as a shelf, on which small articles were put. Articles were also hung from the small supports that ran horizontally along the inside of the rear wall. Early visitors describe the way in which weapons, utensils, stilts, adzes, drums, skulls, and other things were hung on the walls (16, pp. 159-60; 19, p. 129). Small wooden chests *(tifa, umete)* served as containers of articles of value. Garcia (14, p. 129) and Krusenstern (16. pp. 159-60) describe, in one end of the houses of the wealthy, a small partition of bamboo to protect such sacred objects as the bier of a recently deceased ancestor. A part of the interior furnishings of a sleeping house was frequently an empty coffin, waiting for the body of its still living owner or a coffin containing a corpse slung up under the ridge pole. Lower jaws of hogs were observed projecting from beneath the front eaves of a house at Pua Ma'u, on which were formerly hung containers holding the *popoi* of the *tapu* members of the household. These were the jaws of the hogs that had been eaten at the feast of consecration of the house when it was new. The interior of the house was lighted at night by means of kernels of the candlenut *(ama)* strung on the midrib of a coconut leaf or on a strip of bamboo. This candle was stuck into the side of the house, and a vessel was placed beneath to catch the ashes.

The Fata'a

The structure restricted to the use of *tapu* men was the *fata'a (fata'a moe, nahua)*. This according to accounts on Hiva Oa, consisted of a frame, the dimensions of which were about 15 by 20 feet, raised on posts from five to twelve feet high, over which was a roof or house. This structure stood close by the platform of the common sleeping house. The top of the staging, or floor of the house, was made of planks or logs. On it was a fireplace made of earth and stones, where the food of the *tapu* members of the household was prepared. The *fata'a* served also as a storehouse for the food of these *tapu* persons. Old men, who no longer associated with women, and hence were always *tapu*, lived constantly on the *fata'a*, sleeping there. Women were never allowed to enter but only men and boys. The floor was reached from the ground by means of a ladder, made, according to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

used for bowls or mortars. Wood and coconut shell vessels were carved with the types of design shown in the accompanying sketches (fig. 9, *b* and *c*.) Drinking cups for water and kava were of coconut shell. Small food bowls were called generically *ipu* or *kipu*, different sizes and forms having many specific names. Large quantities of *popoi* for feasts were put in very large round bowls (*toto*) (fig. 10, *a*) of *temanu* wood, some of them four feet in diameter, or in long, canoe-shaped troughs. Between the very large bowls and the small ones, there ranged all sizes. Knoblike handles, carved from human bone or made of a large smooth nut, were attached to the sides of the bowls with sennit cords passed through holes in the bowl (fig. 10, *b*). For kava there were two types of containers (*tahaha, tanoa,* or *kotue)* used, one like an elongated scoop with a pointed end from which the *kava* was poured (fig. 10, *c*), the other roughly copying the form of a bird and having a lid. (See fig. 10, *d*.) Small containers (*hue*) with covers *(tifa)* were made of large coconut shells and gourds *(hue mao'i)* and suspended on the beams of the house by means of small nets woven around the body of the vessel (fig. 10, *e*). Water was kept in large gourds *(hue)* or large bamboos *(kohe)*, the joints of which, with the exception of the one at the bottom, had been rammed through on the inside. Graters for coconut *(feke)* were made by lashing to a stick supported on legs, a piece of pearl shell, one edge of which was chipped or filed into small saw-teeth (fig. 10, *f*). Another type of grater (*iku*), made of the tail of the ray fish, was used for grating amomum root *(ena)*. According to Mr. Linton, sharks' fins were also used for graters. Strips of bamboo, sharks' teeth, and shells were used for knives *(kohe)*. Besides these implements and utensils used in connection with cooking and eating, small nets, fishing rods, and the like were hung under the roof and on the beams and posts of the cook house. A pointed stick *(ko)*, set in the ground, served to husk coconuts.

The Sacred Place

The family sacred place was either a small *tapu* enclosure or a small, high platform (the *taha tupapa'u)* in which or on which temporary houses and shrines or altars were erected in connection with birth and death ceremonial. These were always in close proximity to the sleeping house, and hence were an integral part of the establishment. On Hiva Oa, there was a shed on a small but high, stone platform *(taha tupapa'u)*, but on Nuku Hiva the enclosed place with a temporary shed appears to have been common. At times of ritual, such as the treatment of a dead body, or the erection of the temporary altars in honor of children, these temporary sheds were decorated with cloth as a sign of *tapu*. Images were

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ing. While the *tuhuna* chanted, the older men among them sat with their backs resting against the *keho,* stone blocks or columns set in the ground to serve as back rests. At such times the tribe as a whole was under a ceremonial *tapu.* The sacrificing was performed by the inspirational priest and the ceremonial priest at the tribal sacred place.

The use of human sacrifice in connection with war ceremonial has already been described. (See War.) Human victims were also offered as a means of breaking drought and of securing plentiful harvests. A human sarifice was sometimes made for the consecration of a new canoe, house, or coffin of a chief, chiefess, or priest; such an offering accompanied the rites connected with the building of a new tomb or feast place, the erection of which was always in honor of some great man, a chief or priest, dead or alive, and human victims were also offered on the occasion of incidents of especial importance in the lives of chiefs or priests—for example, at the time of the festival celebrating the completion of the tattooing of the chief's son, or when the ears of a chief's daughter were pierced, or on the occasion of the sickness or death of great chiefs or priests. Père Siméon (7) gives the following terms for human sacrifices made for different purposes on various special occasions:

Heaka va'u ia ouoho. Sacrifice on the occasion of shaving the chief's head.
Heaka he'e ia vaevae u te tau'a. Sacrifice when a chief went on a journey.
Heaka hoai ia. Sacrifice when the chief bathed.
Heaka hoa ko'e ia tapu. Sacrifice to put an end to a *tapu.*
Heaka paepae ha'e or paepae tohua. Sacrifice to remove *tapu* from a house or a sacred place.
Heaka mea ki'i ehuehu. Sacrifice when a chief was sick.

A tortoise was sometimes substituted for a human victim.

Obtaining Victims

At times when human victims were required by the tribal god, the deity was supposed to make his wishes known through his inspirational priest. In a state of possession, the priest announced the number of victims that should be obtained, his voice being thought to be that of a god. He would then send his warriors to secure the sacrifice as has been described in connection with war. The story of Tiki-tuao from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, is particularly interesting on account of the illustration it gives of the conceptions with regard to human sacrifice. In this story Tiki-tuao is taken up to the sky and there witnesses the gods regaling themselves on the body of his brother-in-law. He returns to the earth and finds his brother-in-law chanting with other men. When he told the story of what he had seen he was laughed at, but very soon thereafter the brother-in-law was captured and taken home by an enemy tribe to be offered to their god as a

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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771 to some they are greatly superior, and after their death they rank with the chief divinity. Besides the gods at the burying-place, or morai, for so it is called by them, they have their household gods, as well as small gods, which are hung round their necks, generally made of human bones. Others are carved on the handles of their fans, on their stilts, their canes, and more particularly on their war clubs. But these gods are not held in any estimation; they are sold, exchanged, and given away with the same indifference as any other object, and indeed the most precious relic, the skulls and other bones of their relations, are disposed of with equal indifference.

In religion these people are mere children; their morais are their baby-houses, and their gods are their dolls. I have seen Gattanewa with all his sons, and many others, sitting for hours together clapping their hands and singing before a number of little wooden gods laid out in small houses erected for the occasion, and ornamented with strips of cloth. They were such houses as a child would have made, of about two feet long and eighteen inches high, and no less than ten or twelve of them in a cluster, like a small village. By the side of these were several canoes, furnished with their paddles, seines, harpoons, and other fishing apparatus, and round the whole a line was drawn to show that the place was tabooed. Within this line was Gattanewa and others, like overgrown babies, singing and clapping their hands, sometimes laughing and talking, and appearing to give their ceremony no attention.

352 It remains for me now to say something of their domestic economy, their furniture, utensils, and implements. I have already described their houses, from which it will be seen that their apartments are few, and that however numerous may be the family, they have but one common sleeping place. This is covered with dry grass, on which mats are spread for the chief persons; the servants and others sleep on the grass alone, or on mats if they have them. It has been represented by former voyagers, that 264 the women of this great nation distributed among the South Sea Islands, are not permitted to sit at meals with the men, or allowed to eat pork on any occasion. Those people are an exception; men, women, and children eat together, although each have their messes in separate dishes, and the women are not prohibited from eating pork, except during the existence of taboos. Even then they eat it, if the men are not present, or if they will only have the complaisance to turn away their faces, and not seem to notice them; which they generally do.

Among tribes not tabooed I have seen men and women eating pork together, which was the case at Lewis's Bay, as I before mentioned. The men and women are both remarkably fond of

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The men and women are both remarkably fond of
pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it 264
was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact 262
it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom 231
kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their 556
feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in 585
this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, [586]
and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls 582
are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge 836
themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, 462
different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are 463
certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, 352
calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and 415
cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them,

6: Lisianshy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. Arriving at the King's abode, we made a disposition of our armed force, and then entered a building resembling a summer-house. The foundation was of stone. The sides were constructed with poles, placed horizontally one upon another, some of which were moveable, to admit air and light. The roof, which was covered with leaves of the bread-fruit tree, had only one slope. The front of the building had a door in the middle, about five feet high and three broad. 648 342

The inside of this edifice was divided lengthwise into two parts, by means of a large piece of wood, like a beam or rafter, placed on the floor. The division furthest from the entrance was covered with mats, spread upon clean dry grass, and answered the purpose of bed-chamber and drawing-room. [352]

The walls of the building were hung on the inside with several domestic utensils, made of the calabash; and with stone axes, pikes, clubs, and other instruments of war. In one corner of the room was a curious sort of drum, made of the hollowed trunk of a tree, and covered with the skin of the shark. [353] [534]

Adjoining to this habitation was a small store-room, the entrance of which was from within, and so narrow and low, that it was difficult to creep through it. There was also another tolerably large building or room, apart from the house, where his majesty, on particular festivals, takes his meals. [343]

On our entrance, we were received by the king and queen with great politeness: several of the royal family were present, and in particular the king's daughter-in-law, called the Goddess of the Bay. I questioned this goddess, by means of Roberts, 648

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

342 333 the *paepae*, and then the house floor was walled and filled until level with their tops. Whether the placing of the *ke'etu* took place before or after the paving of the front part of the *paepae*, could not be ascertained. Finally the surface of both parts of the *paepae*, with the exception of the bed space of the house, was paved with flat water-worn stones, those of the house floor being smaller and more carefully selected. Holes for the accommodation of the front posts of the house were frequently left along the front edge of the floor.

342 A curious feature not observed at the present time, is mentioned by Petit-Thouars (48, p. 345) in his description of a chief's house on the island of Tahu Ata. He says, "At either end of the single apartment which forms the house there is a part of the pavement raised about thirty-five centimeters above the rest. These two platforms appear to be more exclusively reserved for the king."

● 352 One or two stone back rests were a rather common feature of dwelling *paepae* in Hiva Oa. These back rests were simple slabs, usually undressed, set into the pavement of the veranda section and sloping at an angle of about 45 degrees. They were commonly placed at either end of the *paepae* and so arranged that the occupant sat with his side toward the house. One interesting back rest of this sort, of recent construction, was carved from the top of a large stone set in the last course of the *paepae* wall (Pl. XL. *a*, *b*). These objects appear to have been simply a primitive form of easy chair, with no religious or ceremonial significance, but it should be noted that similar back rests were occasionally placed within the bed spaces of houses within the precincts of the *me'ae* of Hiva Oa. When they were arranged in this position they were placed against the back of the house, sloping inward, so that the occupant faced the front of the house. A few stone back rests were observed in Nuku Hiva and Ua Huku but they were uncommon there.

342 In the paved space before the house, many large Nuku Hivan *paepae* have a rectangular pit running down to the original ground level. These pits are lined with stones throughout and were certainly built at the same time as the *paepae*. [784] Two explanations of these pits were given by informants: That they were repositories into which objects that had become tapu were thrown and that they [778] were larders or small *ma* pits. It seems unlikely that they were used as *ma* pits, however, as *ma* can only be preserved properly in pits dug in compact clay soil. Several old informants claimed that they had seen objects which had become tapu through touching the head of the oldest son thrown into such platform pits. In the valley of Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva, a pit of this sort had been used as a burial place for the owner's family, which had been wiped out by an epidemic. The house was afterward burned and the place declared tapu. Similar pits are a constant feature of the simplest form of *me'ae* in Nuku Hiva, but the majority of the *paepae*

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

THE HOUSE DOOR

342 No doors of the ancient type have survived, but good descriptions were obtained from informants. The doorway was normally in the middle of the front wall, the central pair of posts being placed relatively close together to form the jambs, while the top stringer of the wall formed the lintel. In many houses, however, a separate lintel was placed some distance below the stringer. The doorway was then so low that a person entering was compelled to bend almost double. The object of the low doorway was purely defensive. Both high and low doorways were used in all the islands in ancient times. Two forms of door are said to have been used with the high doorways. One of these consisted of two coconut leaf mats of the sort used for thatch, one of which was tied to either door post. To close the aperture the edges of the mats were drawn together and tied. The second form of door was made by planting two strong posts in the house floor, one close behind either doorpost; two heavy planks, as high as the doorway and more than half as wide, were then hewn from breadfruit wood and placed between the door posts and inner posts on either side of the doorway, the whole forming a crude double-leafed sliding door. To close the door the two planks were slid out from either side of the doorway meeting the middle. Stewart (59, pp. 233-236) speaks of "a small door in the middle, furnished with a shutter, in a slide, to be closed or opened at pleasure." Informants in Hiva Oa said that the small doorways there were provided with a single-leafed sliding door, although the exact arrangement had been forgotten. According to informants in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, the doorways, whether high or low, were arranged with inner posts, like those already described, but were closed by laying a number of timbers of breadfruit wood, one above the other, in the space between the front posts and inner posts.

INTERIOR ARRANGEMENT OF THE HOUSE

352 [342] The interior of the house consisted usually of a single room, without partitions, but Kruesenstern (34, p. 161) and Gracia (28, p. 123) both say that in the better houses one end was divided off by a bamboo partition and was used as a storeroom for valuables and Handy (32) reports tapa curtains called *kahu pahee ioto* sometimes used in Nuku Hiva. There was no furniture; even the stools used by some of the other Polynesian groups were lacking. The bed formed an integral part of the house. A strip comprising the rear half of the house-floor was left unpaved at the time of the construction of the *paepae*, and this was leveled and filled with soft earth, free from stones, until its surface was six to eight inches below the paved forward portion of the house-floor. Two carefully dressed palm logs eight inches to a foot in diameter were then laid along either edge of the depression. The straightness and polish of these logs were the pride

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7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

of the owner of the house. Two short additional pieces of palm log sometimes were laid transversely at either end of the bed space, just within the bottoms of the end posts of the house; rarely the log along the back of the bed space was omitted. The space enclosed by the logs was first filled with a thick layer of tips of palm fronds, or with ferns. Over these were laid several coconut mats, similar to those used for thatching. The mats at the rear were occasionally placed over the back log and tied to the rafters at a height of about eight inches (Pl. XL, *E*). Over the coconut mats in turn were laid woven pandanus mats of two kinds. Those covering the front part of the bed were called *moena*, and were woven of broad strips, three-eighths of an inch or more in width. Mats of this sort were tapu to men, and the use of the word *moena* as a term of reproach is known to have led to at least one murder in recent times. The rear part of the bed was covered with a mat of finer weave, called *kahua'a*, which was not tapu to men. The *kahua'a* was long and narrow, a single one usually running the entire length of the house. It was so placed that it covered the rear half of the *moena* and the back log of the bed. The outer edge of the *kahua'a* was tied up to the rafters. A narrow mat for the head alone, called *pa'i pa'i*, was sometimes placed over the *kahua'a* to prevent its being stained by the oil with which the natives soaked their hair.

Occupants of the bed lay with their heads toward the wall, the *kahua'a* supporting the head and shoulders and the *moena* the lower part of the body. With persons of ordinary height the feet projected over the inner log and rested upon the bare stone pavement.

The elaborate pillows found in some parts of Polynesia were not used in the Marquesas, but a pad of tapa was sometimes tied to the rear log of the bed under the *kahua'a*. Portable pillows called *nouni*, made from bundles of shredded *fei* leaves wrapped and tied with tapa, were also used.

According to informants a special form of bed was used at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa in the houses of a fishermen's sacred place, and by at least some of the priests. This bed consisted of two or more pairs of short posts, connected at the top by crosspieces, supporting a layer of small closely spaced poles. The whole formed a long rectangular bench, or shelf, raised eighteen inches to two feet above the ground. Four elaborately carved wooden legs in the Bishop Museum may belong to a bed of this type. (See Pl. XLI, *A*.) In the fishermen's sacred place each of the houses, which were very small, contained two of these beds, one along either side. Priests, after they had eaten of the sacrifice, continued to live with their families when not engaged in religious rites, but slept in a separate raised bed built for them in the common dwelling. Only coconut mats were used upon the beds of priests and fishermen, due to the ceremonial uncleanness of bed mats

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352 of the ordinary type. It is probable that a single idea of defilement by contact
513 with the ground underlay this use of elevated beds and the construction of the *fata'a* and *tona pou*, (pp. 294-5). It is interesting to note that in Tonga according to McKern (41) the bed of the Tui Tonga was always elevated, although it appears to have simply been built up with rolls of tapa.

HOUSE DECORATION

342 In the Marquesas most dwellings and practically all ceremonial structures
531 were decorated to some extent. The *paepae* might be decorated with ornamental masonry, with figures carved in relief on the *ke'etu* facing of the raised house floor, or with small stone statues. In the house proper the decorations consisted of carved posts, ornamental lashings and occasionally of pigs' skulls. The use of human skulls as house decoration is doubtful.

DECORATION OF THE PAEPAE

The use of ornamental masonry in dwelling *paepae* seems to have been limited to the island of Nuku Hiva. There many of the house platforms had a row of *ke'etu* built into the front wall one or two feet below its top. The *ke'etu* were laid flat, with the long edge out, and from a little distance gave the effect of a narrow horizontal stripe or band—the regular width and reddish color contrasted pleasantly with the darker tint of the rough stones forming the bulk of the platform. *Ke'etu* so placed may have helped to tie the wall firmly to the earth and rough stonefill of the *paepae*, but long rough stones would have served equally well. In view of the labor required to quarry and transport the *ke'etu* it seems probable that their purpose was purely ornamental, and a proof of the wealth and influence of the owner of the house.

Some of the large dressed slabs of stone which faced the front of the raised house floor were carved. Two examples were noted: one in the valley of Haka Moui, Ua Pou; the other in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa. The Haka Moui site (32) is very unusual. The *paepae* was built with steps in three levels, one faced with large *ke'etu*. The *ke'etu* of the highest step were decorated with a zigzag pattern of ornamental adzing, and several of the other slabs bore full *tiki* figures or heads carved in very high relief. It is said that this structure was the residence of a chief; and became a *me'ae* upon his death. The decorations on the *ke'etu* of the Pua Ma'u site were much less elaborate; the main decoration of its *paepae* consisted of inset stone figures. On the upper side of one of the slabs facing the house floor a turtle, five inches long, was carved in low relief. The projecting end of the same slab bore a curious oval knob near the top and a beak-like projection at the bottom. This end carving is suggestive of a tenon for the attach-

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ing at the upper right corner. Bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally to the left, around the rafter left to right, and diagonally up, right to left. Pass it down behind rafter diagonally, emerging lower right corner, and wrap it twice around the crosspiece. Carry end across lashing below crosspiece to the left, up the left side behind the crosspiece, and across the lashing to the right, in front of rafter. This completes the black part of the lashing.

Take the brown cord, which has been carried around the rafter from right to left above the crosspiece, and carry it down over the crosspiece diagonally from left to right. Pass it around the rafter right to left, and diagonally up over the crosspiece left to right. Bring it down behind the rafter diagonally right to left, across the lashing below the crosspiece to the extreme right edge of the figure, and wrap twice around the crosspiece. Make one complete turn around the rafter below the crosspiece from right to left, carry up the right side of the lashing, across to the left, down left side and carry on to next figure on right.

The complete lashing should consist of two vertical bands each of six strands, the two outer strands in each band being brown and the four inner black. Between these there should be an X whose arms are six strands in width, the two strands along the edges of either arm being brown and the four central strands black.

OTHER FORMS OF DECORATION

No indication of the use of paint in the decoration of house timbers was found, and no reference was made to it by informants. Du Petit-Thouars (48, p. 347), however, speaks of seeing in the island of Tahu Ata, a small house, with posts painted red and yellow, which sheltered a corpse. This form of ornamentation was probably never used for dwellings.

Informants in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, stated that men's houses belonging to chiefs were often ornamented with the lower jaws of wild pigs, several of them being attached to the inner side of the front stringer at regular intervals. The jaws were placed angle up, with the tusks projecting below the stringer. These tusks were useful as well as ornamental, serving as hooks on which to hang small objects.

The early accounts of the Marquesas contain several references to prepared skulls which were used to decorate the houses of victorious warriors, but no details of the arrangement are given and as such trophies were also worn as ornaments it seems probable that they were simply hung up in the house and not incorporated in the structure.

HOUSE FURNISHINGS

Although furniture, in the European sense, was lacking, miscellaneous objects were to be found in any inhabited Marquesan dwelling. The bed space was covered with mats; wooden bowls and boxes lay about; calabashes and baskets hung from the walls or ridge pole; and tools and weapons were hung up or were thrust into the thatch. Porter (49, p. 113) says that there were "stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats could not get them" and "cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log and made with great neatness." No other reference to these cradles has been found. From the ridgepole hung a number of bundles containing new tapa, or the gala dresses and

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352 valuables of the occupants. As a protection from rats the cords by which the bundles were suspended passed through inverted gourd shells. The cords passed over the ridgepole and were tied at a convenient height so that to get a bundle it was only necessary to loosen the cord and lower away. The whole house was kept scrupulously clean and formed a healthy and agreeable dwelling.

SPECIAL HOUSES

343 In addition to the houses of the two main types already described, the Marquesans appear to have built a few special structures of slightly divergent form. No buildings of these minor types have survived; they must be reconstructed from the fragmentary accounts of informants.

The storehouse was not built on a *paepae* but was raised above the ground on four to six posts. It stood near the dwelling *paepae*, preferably at one end, and its floor was at about the same level as that of the house. It was a small structure shaped like a dwelling, but the use of a raised floor must have necessitated minor changes in construction which can not now be ascertained. The floor was made of fau poles. In the better storehouses the posts and frame work were carved and there was a liberal use of ornamental lashings. The house was used for the storage of tapu articles and was sometimes used as a residence by old men. It was tapu to women. The native name for this house was *fata'a*, a word whose resemblance to the Maori word *pataka* (applied to small elevated storehouses) is obvious.

346 Fisherman's houses were built within the precincts of the fishermen's sacred place. In Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, these houses were of special form according to information obtained by Handy (32). They were raised on posts like the *fata'a* already described. The floor was of fau poles and the roof was of the small house type. The ends of the house were closed and in one end, a small rectangular door was built. These houses must have been a local development, for the fishermen's houses in the valley of Pua Ma'u, on the same island, were not of this type.

Fae tukau were sacred structures erected in *me'ae*. They are mentioned by Gracia (28, p. 57) and by Porter (49, p. 111). Porter describes them as follows: "To the right and left of these gods are two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and coconut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth which give a picturesque and elegant appearance. The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height."

According to information obtained by Handy (32) in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, these houses were built by the *taputoho*, a revenge victim (*heana*) being sacrificed

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MATTING AND BASKETRY

MATS

The twin arts of matting and basketry appear to have been less developed in the Marquesas than in any other part of tropical Polynesia and both have been nearly destroyed by European contact. No mats of the better sort are now manufactured and the processes employed are unknown to most of the natives. Only three materials appear to have been used for mats, ti leaves, coconut fronds, and the leaves of the pandanus. Mats made from ti leaves were small crude affairs, hardly deserving the name. They were used only to line and cover *ma* pits. (See Pl. LXVI, *A*.) They were made as follows:

A quantity of the leaves were collected and the stems and heavy portion of the midrib removed, without breaking the inner surface of the leaf. These stemmed leaves were laid in bundles of three or four, the face of each leaf being against the back of the one below. These bundles were then placed side by side with a wide regular overlap, always from the same direction, and were pinned together with splints about two inches long made from the midrib of a coconut leaflet or from bamboo. Three of these splints were used to join each pair of bundles, one being placed in the middle and the other two near either end. In doing the work a long splint was used; a portion of the end of the splint was broken off each time and left as a pin. The resultant mat was as wide as the length of the leaves and could be extended indefinitely by pinning on new bundles.

Coconut mats are still regularly made in the Marquesas; the work is done by men and women indiscriminately. They are employed mainly as thatching for houses, to cover large earth oven and in ancient times they were used on beds, under the fine mats. The coconut mats are made as follows:

A coconut frond, usually that of a young tree, is split longitudinally and the midrib, to which the leaflets of either half are attached, is pared thin enough to be rather flexible. Alternate leaflets are then directed forward and backward and interwoven in a simple checkerwork. The outer edge of the mat is finished by braiding the tips of the leaflets together in a continuous longitudinal strip. The size of these mats naturally depends upon that of the frond from which they are made, ordinary specimens being 14 to 20 inches wide and 6 to 12 feet long. A common variation of this technique is to employ two half fronds placed side by side, the midribs being joined together by twisting a leaflet around both at intervals of one to two feet. The leaflets of both fronds are then interwoven to form a mat of single thickness like that just described. A still further variation consists in placing two half leaves together with the midribs at opposite edges and interweaving the leaflets in checkerwork. This last technique is rarely used at the present time.

The better Marquesan mats, used principally upon beds, were made from pandanus. These bed mats were as a rule long and comparatively narrow, being intended to cover the space between the two coconut logs. They were of two sorts, the distinction being apparently one of shape and use. The mats upon which the legs rested were called *moena*, those upon which the body rested *kahuaa*, those for the head *p'ai p'ai*. (For shape and arrangements of these mats

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285 [352] see p. 283.) According to Handy (personal correspondence) there was a kind of coarse mat, called *hupau*, which was used by poor people.

No pandanus mats have been made in the Marquesas for several years, and the information obtained in regard to the methods of manufacture was insufficient and sometimes contradictory.

The dry or half dead leaves appear to have been used. The base, midrib and thorny edges were cut away with a pearl shell scraper or knife of the sort used in scraping bark for tapa, leaving two long straight strips about two inches wide. According to one informant, these strips were then soaked in sea water for a few days, washed in fresh water, and dried in the sun. The extreme softness of some of the mats would seem to indicate that the dried strips were beaten or otherwise manipulated before weaving, but no information could be obtained on this point. Before weaving the broad prepared strips were split with a small stick like a needle into narrow sections which varied in width according to the degree of fineness of the contemplated mat. These strips were called *kau* (32). Marquesan mats appear to have been quite coarse as a rule, the width of the strips in all the specimens seen averaging three-eighths of an inch. The weaving was done entirely by women and the manufacture of some mats for special purposes was attended by ceremonial observances. According to one informant the work was done upon a sort of lap-board placed across the knees. Some mats were of single, others of double thickness, but the same methods were employed in making both, the double mats differing only in having each element made from two strips of the leaf laid one upon the other. The weave was a simple checkerwork, the warp and weft being indistinguishable and the strips running at an angle of forty-five degrees with the edges of the mat. Each element, as it reached the edge, was folded over and woven back into the mat at right angles to its former direction. A weft strip thus became, when turned and carried back, part of the warp. In one specimen, apparently a section cut from a large mat, the ends are finished by cutting off the ends of the warp strips and bending back and weaving these of the weft strips in the manner just described. The sides of this mat are finished by the first method. In a second specimen the edges are finished in a more complicated manner which gives an ornamental effect. (See Pl. LXVI, *B*.) The exact technique can not be ascertained without injuring the specimen.

285 531 Marquesan mats were rarely if every decorated with woven patterns, but one specimen in the Bishop Museum (Pl. LXVI, *C*) is embroidered in simple overlay with thin strips made from the upper surface of the pandanus leaf and dyed brick red. The decoration consists of six narrow strips, each two elements wide, two of which are placed at either end of the mat as a border while the other four are arranged longitudinally at equal intervals, the outermost strips being about four inches within the sides of the mat. According to Handy (personal [302] correspondence) the cuttings of women's hair were sometimes saved and woven in tufts around the edges of mats.

285 In view of the scanty material available for study it is quite possible that mats of finer grade than those described were manufactured in ancient times, but the general inferiority of Marquesan mats is mentioned by various early visitors. Petit Thouars (48, p. 348) says that the mats were coarser and less ornamental than those of the people living further west, and the wife of one of the first European missionaries sent to the group from Hawaii mentions, in a letter

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HOUSE CONSTRUCTION AND FURNISHINGS: *A*, BACK REST, SIDE VIEW; *B*, BACK REST, REAR VIEW; *C*, OPEN HOUSE AT ATIUONA, HIVA OA; *D*, FURNISHINGS AND CONSTRUCTION OF END WALL; *E*, CLOSE VIEW OF BED; *F*, ORNAMENTAL LASHINGS OF REAR ROOF.

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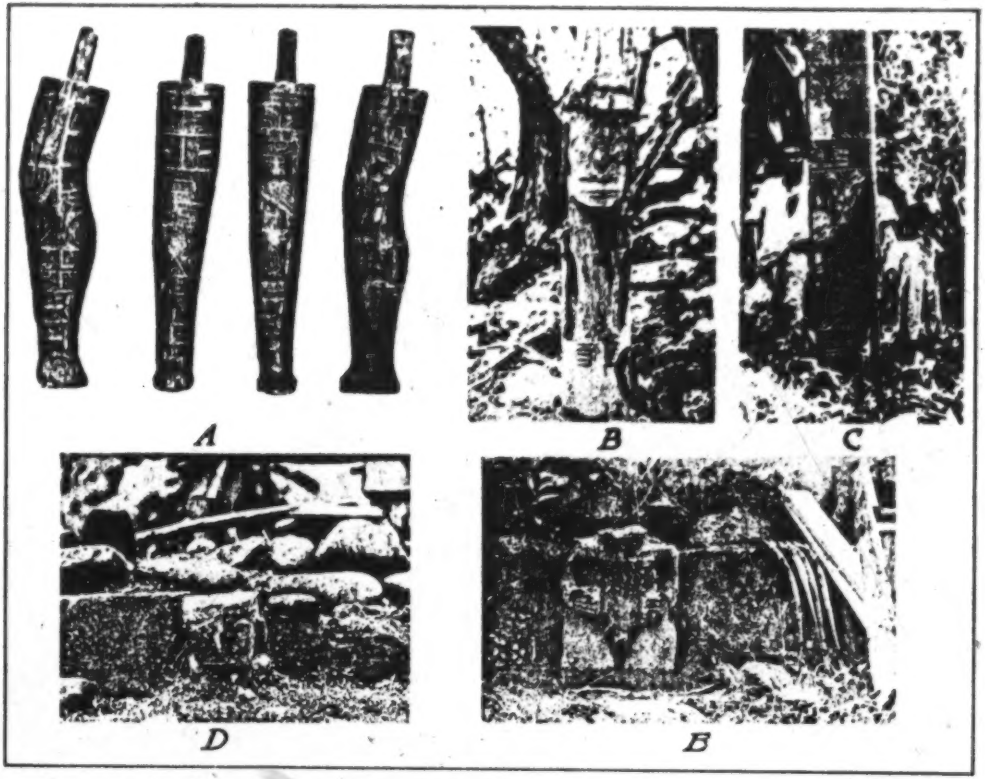
[2nd plate 1]



HOUSE DECORATIONS: *A*, WOODEN LEGS WITH TATTOO DESIGNS, PROBABLY USED FOR BED; *B*, ATLANTID HOUSE POST, FROM SACRED HOUSE ON ISLAND OF UA HUKA; *C*, CARVED HOUSE POST, ISLAND OF HIVA OA; *D*, *E*, STONE FIGURES FROM DWELLING PAEPAE IN PUA MA'U, HIVA OA.

End plate 27

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specialized in particular occupations, such as canoe making or carving. The products were distributed by means of a thoroughly organized trade in the form of social visits with gift exchanges. A tribe specializing in yellow dye would arrive with canoe-loads of the stuff. These expeditions were led by the chief, who was accompanied by perhaps one hundred men. They would start with a formal social gathering, during which sexual hospitality was usually extended to the visitors. Then the cargoes were presented. No mention was made of payment, but just before the visitors left, they would suggest indirectly that there was a shortage of a certain commodity in their tribe. Their hosts would then beg them to accept of their surplus of this commodity. The exchange was carried on with mutual benefit but no attempt to drive a shrewd bargain. Although a few objects might be brought for personal trade, the main load of the tribe's specialty was owned by the chief, and private individuals could not use any of it for trade purposes. Trade was organized by the chief, but at the close of the transaction, the goods would be prorated to all members of the tribe. Individual surpluses were exchanged on a quite similar basis, care being taken to eliminate the profit motive in all cases. These trade visits were still going on while I was in the Marquesas, although they had become of little importance.

Imperishable property, such as weapons, carvings, tools, and ornaments, was constantly changing hands, but the objects retained their names and individuality in the transfer. Gift exchange was as essential to social prestige as the giving of feasts. There is no question that, by primitive standards, the Marquesans were a wealthy group. All the early explorers made mention of the great number of things they had in their houses, rows of weapons, carved bowls, mats, etc. The explanation lies in the fact that they had a great deal of leisure, which they employed in making things. These articles were accumulated and handed down.

The Marquesans had a high standard of comfort. Their beds were the most luxurious to be found in the South Seas. The

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entire rear half of the houses, which were often fifty or sixty feet long, was given up to the beds. The bed had a foundation of springy brush, cocoanut fronds, ferns, and layers of grass, on top of which were placed woven mats. A polished cocoanut log running the entire length of the house served as a pillow. These beds were softer than many European beds, and the natives loafed on them when they had nothing else to do. They also built sloping back-rests on the stone house platforms so that they could sit there in comfort and watch everything that went on up and down the street. Clothing was unnecessary in this climate, but the Marquesans made elaborate ornaments for festival wear.

An ambitious, skillful man could use the leisure periods between harvests to create a surplus through craftsmanship or pig tending. However, if one was not ambitious, one could spend his leisure time loafing, singing, playing musical instruments or games, and, even to a considerable degree, in sexual play.

Attitude toward Objects

There was an amazing degree of individualization of objects among the Marquesans, everything being personified. Just as each individual was a distinct entity in his tribe, so every axe or food bowl or canoe was also a distinct entity and had a name. The same names were given to objects as to people, the names for weapons being taken from ancestral names of the owner's family. All canoes were given names, and a house not only went through the process of creation, but was hung with a loin cloth so that it would be decently clad when occupied.

It is difficult to say just how much the natives actually believed in this personification of objects. A properly made object achieved greater prestige value with use. A club which had killed three or four men had a tremendous amount of *mana;* the more *mana,* the greater the distinction of the weapon. The people had a sense for heirlooms; old objects which had been handed down had more value than new ones, even though the new ones boasted finer carving.

/10 cont./

At childbirth the Marquesan woman is quite free to indulge in histrionics if she wishes, although some prefer to endure in stony silence as the majority of injuries and illnesses are endured. Crying and shouting are permissible, however, a very common theme being: 'E na 'ua mate 'ua! (I'm dying!), followed by: 'aue, or: 'aue ho'i 'e (alas). 844 [152]

The position of the woman during delivery seems to be a relatively variable affair. In one birth at which we assisted, the wife sat on the floor with legs drawn up on a dirty dress with her back against a sandalwood chest, upon which the husband sat. She leaned her head back between his thighs and, extending her arms upward, locked her fingers /11/ behind his neck. He bent over her, pushing downward on her stomach with both hands rhythmically. In other instances the women recline completely for delivery, a practice probably resulting from contact with infirmary routine. One unusual case was reported in which the woman stood, bent over and leaning on a window sill. This experiment was followed by a severe hemorrhage, nearly resulting in death. [352] [177]

The umbilical cord (te aho) is milked, tied with twine and cut, usually with scissors or a knife. As these implements have rarely been cleaned for the occasion, not to mention being sterilized, it is not infrequent that infections of the umbilicus result. At least one infant fatality was attributable to this cause during our stay in Hatiheu (5 months). [412] [165]

The delivery of the afterbirth (pu henua) is not facilitated by massage of the fundus. Those who deliver in the sitting position remain so, until the afterbirth is expelled. Should the afterbirth be delayed, the woman is taken by both arms and legs and shaken violently until the afterbirth comes. This is often followed by a slight hemorrhage.

The afterbirth is taken out after delivery and buried in an area such as the wash house, where it will be constantly damp, the dampness is presumed to keep away ants which would normally devour the tissues should it merely be buried. If ants do attack the afterbirth, it is believed that the infant will suffer an eye infection. Many families today, however, merely [825] [753] [178]